STOP THE BROWNELL BILLS — SAVE THE CONSTITUTION — WIRE CONGRESS TODAY!

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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Official: The "Dirty War" is over

Above, the last page of the cease-fire agreement, bearing the French and Vietminh signatures which ended the 7½-year war. Below, Undersecy. of State Walter B. Smith (l.) forced by world opinion to go to Geneva for the cease-fire, reports a noseful to Asst. Secy. of State McArdle on his return. There was joy everywhere in the world, and no amount of "Munich" malarkey in Washington could alter that glorious fact.

WAR & PEACE

World free of major war first time in 15 years — so Ike asks more guns

By Tabitha Petran

FOR the first time since 1939, the world was without a major war. (For survey of minor, "unofficial" wars still in progress, see p. 3.) Yet the state of comparative peace only exposed the deepening chasm between Washington and nearly all mankind.

From peoples everywhere, and from many of their governments, came sounds of joy that the Geneva agreement had staved off World War III—and of profound relief, after the Churchill-Nehru revelations of how close Washington came to atomic war last April. From the other side of the chasm came new blasts on the war trumpets. There was swiftly-whipped-up hysteria over the shooting down of a British passenger plane near China's island Hainan—an accident for which China promptly apologized. There was reaffirmation of "the white man's burden" in Asia as "still . . . a heavy duty today" (Hanson Baldwin, N.Y. **Times**, 7/25). There were demands for "an intensification of our defense effort . . . [because] the only language the Russians understand is that of military appropriations" (**Journal of Commerce**, 7/22). There were "preventive showdown" trial-balloons from Sens. Symington and Knowland. Military cutbacks were canceled, the Air Force procurement program stepped up, reorganization of the U.S. Army for atomic war announced, bases in Spain extended, moves launched to acquire bases in Iran. Said Britain's pro-U.S. **Manchester Guardian:**

> ". . . [The socialist world] can represent America as keeping the world callously in a state of tension, seeking everywhere to establish military bases upon soil which does not belong to them, ghoulishly threatening everybody with the hydrogen bomb."

THE PEACE TIDE: Two alternatives presented themselves: more negotiations directed toward peaceful co-existence, or more war preparations leading inexorably to atomic disaster. As they became clearer, the tide throughout Washington's "free world" was running toward settlement by

Herblock in Washington Post

"It's all his fault—If he hadn't lost the election we wouldn't be in this mess."

negotiation. W. European opinion, wrote the **Christian Science Monitor** (7/22), "after the strain of several years of almost constant fear that the U.S. might start a third world war at any moment," would respond to the other side's proposals for negotiated settlements. The editor-in-chief of Paris' **Le Monde** (7/22) defined France's role today as no longer that of conquering continents or leading revolutions but of preventing war:

> "To assure peaceful co-existence in S. E. Asia makes no sense if the cold war is to be continued and aggravated in Europe. One question dominates all others: Will Germany be rearmed?"

Le Monde (7/21), proposing a new four-power conference on Germany, believed "Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's plan for a European collective security system could be the basis for

(Continued on Page 4)

THE REAL MEANING OF BROWNELL'S "IMMUNITY"

'Red' terror in Dade County, Florida, flings 11 into jail for using 5th Amendment; witch-hunt leaves families destitute

A KEYSTONE of the police-state edifice which the Eisenhower Administration is seeking to build is a gimmick for granting so-called "immunity" from resultant prosecution to—and thereby forcing testimony from—witnesses claiming protection of the Fifth Amendment. The Senate passed its "immunity" bill last year. Last week the gimmick to annul the Fifth Amendment was brought perilously close to becoming federal law when a House judiciary subcommittee approved a similar bill. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) pointed to some of the dangers of such a bill and asked whether Atty. Gen. Brownell—part of whose police-state "package" it is—was trying to "out-Joe Joe" for political purposes.

The real meaning of such "immunity" gimmicks in terms of broken lives and families was already clear for anyone who would look at what is going on in a south-east coast section of the U.S. famous for its Miami coast resorts, everglade swamps and perpetual-motion racism: Dade County, Florida.

PIONEER BRAUTIGAM: In 1952 Dade County's George Brautigam, a politically ambitious lawyer, was elected State Atty. He had promised voters he would end a terror situation in the county which became the nation's shame with the dynamiting of a Jewish synagogue and the bomb-killing of NAACP leader Harry T. and Mrs. Moore. Today the Moores' killers and the synagogue-dynamiters are still free, as is the white policeman who killed Negro Emmett Jefferson in broad daylight a few weeks after Brautigam's election. But Brautigam is winning nationwide favor in witch-hunting circles as prime mover of a new kind of terror built around the "immunity" gimmick.

In Dade County the gimmick is that Florida has a two-year statute of limitations for prosecutions; a witness therefore has "immunity" in answering any question relating to two years and one day ago. If he "takes the Fifth" on such questions, he can therefore be flung into jail for "contempt." If he does answer, his position has been lucidly described by the Miami **Daily News** (4/14): "The only real immunity for the Red or fellow traveler is to 'tell all' "—i.e., turn total stoolpigeon.

But apart from this aspect, attorneys representing the victims pointed out the fraud of the grant of "immunity" for these reasons:

> "The witness must be assured immunity from both state and federal prosecution, and the Florida Supreme Court has recently adopted that rule;
>
> "The Statute of Limitations in federal prosecutions is three years;
>
> "A witness is not required to answer where the answer would in any way tend to subject him to prosecution, and questions concerning a period beyond the Statute of Limitations could be a link in a chain which would lead to prosecution and pos-

(Continued on Page 5)

IN THIS ISSUE

The long arm of Washington's secret police

THE STORY OF TWO AMERICANS

See Report to Readers and pages 6 and 7

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Ike courting 'overthrow'?

BURBANK, CALIF.

My husband just wrote to Mr. Eisenhower (probably he won't see it—one never has an answer from this Administration as one invariably had from Roosevelt's): "You are anxious to sign a law by which you can deprive a man of citizenship if he 'advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence.' The only possible reason for the law is that you feel you need it. What cowardly or evil thing does this Administration intend doing, or expect subsequent Administrations to do, that the American people will want to overthrow their government?

"My forebears helped to establish this country. My father went to an early grave fighting to preserve it. We Americans believe profoundly we would always have a country so administered we would be willing to die for it. And gladly!

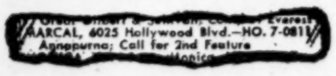
"Is what Dulles and Truman did, and what is going on in your Administration, convincing you and your associates that the people will not long be able to tolerate their government? That rigged elections will make it impossible for them to change the situation in an orderly fashion, and that they will then have to take the advice of Lincoln and Jefferson and exercise their revolutionary right to put down tyranny?"

Frances D. Manning

How free can press get?

VAN NUYS, CALIF.

Here is a movie listing in the L. A. Times, showing the program at the Marcal Theater. Guess what


MARCAL, 6025 Hollywood Blvd.—HO. 7-0811
Annapurna; Call for 2nd Feature

the second feature was: Salt of the Earth!

All L. A papers refused paid ads for Salt.

Libby Powell

Who got defeated?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Republicans defeated a Democratic amendment to increase income tax exemptions.

The Democrats defeated a Republican amendment to increase income tax exemptions.

This the press called a victory for Eisenhower.

Maybe I'm just perverse. This I call a defeat for the American people.

Phil Hazen

Full up

WENTWORTH, N. H.

Your paper has been most helpful in filling our place this season. Our ad has paid off one hundred fold.

Josephine Timms
Timms Lodge

Exported hooey

WOODFIBRE, B. C.

In the present international situation one needs a paper like the GUARDIAN to counter the incessant State Dept. line which is foisted on Canadians as well as the people of the U. S. The Canadian Broadcasting Corp. in its newscasts referred to the Guatemala government as "Communist," showing the influence of the United Fruit Co. extends far wider than its actual possessions.

Cy Harding, Secy.,
B. C. Comm. for Protection of Canadian-Chinese Trade

God and the GUARDIAN

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

In the July 12 GUARDIAN Jerry O'Neil of Hudson, Mass., complains of a "lack of Almighty God on every page." Perhaps Mr. O'Neil will be interested in my religious experience.

For many years I sporadically attended various churches and found a surface pleasantness while quietly sitting through a service. In more recent time I have found a real appreciation in a church program, a church leader and practicing theologist—namely, the Rev. Wm. Howard Melish. The current publicity given to his voluntary testimony before the SACB has gained for him, in my humble opinion, the prominence of a really great citizen. I simply would not have believed that courage and dignity, truth and humaneness could be so manifested as it has been by Mr. Melish. For those who have not yet attended a service at Holy Trinity in Brooklyn: go—listen, and talk with this minister after the service—read his book **Strength for Struggle** to gain new courage and insight.

If there is a "lack" of Almighty God in the N. G. it is not noticeable to me, for the religious fervor for justice to the common man is ever present in your news coverage —without using the Lord's name behind a sinister cloak of hypocrisy as in the commercial press.

Vivian T. Johnson

•

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

Dear Jerry O'Neil. You complain that you couldn't find God in the GUARDIAN. Well, it all depends how you understand God. If God is a spirit of justice and love, progress and peace, brotherhood and truth, then one must be blind not to recognize that God is on every page of every issue.

A. Gorbunoff

Religious freedom

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Thanks for the excellent article (July 19) about the work of the Religious Freedom Committee "to maintain unimpaired and free exercise of religion for all faiths and all people." There is one error: Rev. Lee Ball of Irvington, N. Y., is not one of the natl. co-chairmen; he is the treasurer. The third co-chairman is the Rev. Dr. U. J. Robinson, well-known Baptist leader of Mobile, Ala.

I believe the extended and often unreasonable cross-questioning of the Rev. Wm. H. Melish, in the American-Soviet Friendship Council case before the SACB, indicates the government's strong desire to discredit churchmen and get them into a possible perjury situation. It is our hope that the Committee will become a strong force in deterring further attacks by government agencies on liberal churchmen.

Janice M. Roberts, Secy.

The gold in the hole

CINCINNATI, O.

Good old free enterprise, competition, supply and demand regulate everything, they always told us. Why are our economists and politicians silent about it now? Is it because gold is the only recognized medium of exchange between nations?

This nation has the world's supply of gold buried at Fort Knox, Ky. It reminds me of a poker game: when the game keeper has all the checks, the game stops unless he stakes them again. I think that is what we are doing now.

J. Gartleman

Instead of flowers

MERRICK, L.I., N. Y.

Instead of sending flowers in memory of a mutual friend who passed away, we send you this check to help you continue your good work. Only by spreading the truth will we succeed in building a better world for tomorrow.

M. Viemeister

Le Sueur memorial

This Monday, Aug. 2, people in Minneapolis and throughout Minnesota are commemorating the birthday of Marian Le Sueur, late mother of author Meridel Le Sueur, and for many years a leader in farmer-labor affairs with her late husband, and chairman and candidate of the Progressive Party for U. S. Senator in 1952.

In tribute to Mrs. Le Sueur, Mrs. Emma Carlson, speaking for the Women's Progressive Party Club of Minneapolis writes:

"She was a friend to all mankind. The whole world was her

MARIAN LE SUEUR
Aug. 2, 1877—Jan. 26, 1954

stage and she fearlessly took her stand for all exploited and oppressed peoples. She abhorred war and deplored every provocation and every act of war. . . .

"She was a leader and an inspiration to all womankind, championing their every just cause and battling with them against all the inequalities and injustices common to their generation. . . .

"Memories of her full life of devotion and service to mankind will linger long in our hearts."

Salt of the Earth

DENVER, COLO.

Because GUARDIAN readers have been our best friends during the struggles of the past years, some of you will remember Clint Jencks, my husband and union organizer. Maybe you met him in **Salt of the Earth**, or in connection with our long strike against Empire Zinc.

If you remember him and recall Mine-Mill Local 890 in Bayard, N. M., whose women held picket lines for seven months despite arrests, tear gas and beatings, you may know that my husband faces five years in prison as a direct outgrowth of this strike. A Texas jury (no women allowed) ignored open perjuries from Harvey Matusow, whom my husband never met, and found Clint guilty of "falsifying his T-H non-communist affidavit." The verdict is being appealed.

Today Clint Jencks is in a cell alone, while five of his union brothers occupy another cell close by. Where? In Silver City, N. M. Why? Because three years ago the E-Z company brought suit against the entire negotiating committee for permitting our women's picket line to bar the way to scabs. Last month the N. M. Supreme Court ruled that the men must serve the 90-day jail sentence set by the district judge—the same judge who levied almost $50,000 fines against Local 890—the judge who implied Grant County was threatened with revolution by this strike of 100 men. It is by his orders that my husband serves his time in solitary.

The men in jail need to hear from you. You met all of them in **Salt of the Earth**. Truly they and their families are just that. Twenty-one children, including our two youngsters, are deprived of their fathers for this period. Won't you take time to show your solidarity with them?

Write to Fred Barreras, Vicente Becerra, Clint Jencks, Cipriano Montoya, Pablo Montoya, Ernest Velasquez, c/o Local 890, Mine-Mill, Bayard, N. M. One letter will do for all.

Virginia D. Jencks

How crazy can you get dept.

DENVER — The outlawing of the Communist Party in the U. S. was unanimously supported today by the Gen. Fedn. of Womens Clubs. The federation's members wer also urged to read Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto so they would know what they were opposing.

—N. Y. Times, June 2.

RICHMOND, Va., June 25 (AP) —Four men, convicted in U. S. District Court . . . have asked for a new trial—on the ground the jury used a dictionary without authorization. . . . The jurors used the dictionary to learn the definition of "conspiracy."

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Prize in this week's double-header goes to H. Kaminsky, New Haven, Conn. Second item sent by Anon., Rolla, Mo.

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"The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred . . . is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity. . . ."—GEORGE WASHINGTON (farewell address).

REPORT TO READERS

Two Americans

ON PAGES SIX AND SEVEN of this issue the GUARDIAN has given extended space to the ironic and bitter experiences of two Americans—one a citizen of Colombia, the other a citizen of the U. S.—at the hands of U. S. authorities operating in countries as far off as the other side of the world.

One of these stories, that of Dr. Humberto Granados of Bogota, Colombia, was assembled by a Danish colleague of his and brought to the attention of the GUARDIAN by another colleague of Dr. Granados' living in New York.

The other story is one in which the GUARDIAN has a more "personal" role.

LAST MARCH 18, New York newspapers carried a small story from Ceylon, 12,000 miles away, that an American citizen married to a Ceylon national had been deported. The name of her husband, Joseph de Silva, and her maiden name, Rhoda Miller, were both included in the story.

Both names were familiar to us as authors of a book on new Poland, **Peace on the Vistula,** in 1951. Mrs. de Silva, as Rhoda Miller, was well-known personally to many of us as an American newspaperwoman who left a job at **Time, Life** and **Fortune** to join OWI during the war. She had been active in the affairs of the Newspaper Guild of New York, CIO.

SURPRISE is hardly the word to describe our reaction, however, when, bright and early on the morning of March 19, Rhoda Miller de Silva walked into the GUARDIAN office. Her clothing was what she had been wearing two mornings earlier when she was picked up by car at her home in tropical Kandy, Ceylon, apparently for a routine interview with Ceylonese authorities at Colombo, 75 miles away. She was stockingless; a lightweight airlines blanket worn as a shawl was her protection against the New York winter; her only luggage was an airlines overnight kit and a small musette bag. Her funds: the remainder, after breakfast and bus fares, of $3 offered to her as loans by early-riser reporters at Idlewild airport.

FRANKLY, it was pretty flattering to be sought out as a hospice by a traveler from 12,000 miles away; the GUARDIAN (circulation figures to the contrary notwithstanding) suddenly loomed mighty large in a remarkably small world.

We wrassled up some warm clothing from a collection the office people happened to be making for the Rev. Claude Williams' flock in Alabama, got a few containers of coffee, and listened.

The story in its essence is told on p. 6, in the words of her own protest to President Eisenhower. A few details of the original stories in the New York papers puzzled all of us, however, at that first reunion back in March. One was why the FBI, or whoever compiles dossiers on our citizenry, had her home town listed as Bridgeport, Conn., where she has never lived, worked or visited. This is still a mystery, but a clue to the kind of "fact-finding" that produced it was found in another item—that she had worked for a notorious Communist publication called the New York **Guila.** While it may have been notorious to the FBI, none of us had ever heard of such a publication. We have heard of typographical errors, however, and consequently worked this one out without too much trouble. The reference was to the New York Guild, CIO, a union of 8,000 newspaper people who, back in 1943, chose Guildmember Rhoda Miller as chairman of their annual Page One Ball.

—THE EDITORS

SMART SHOPPERS USE
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

MALAYA, BURMA, NORTH AFRICA, KENYA

The little wars go on

By Kumar Goshal

IN Britain and France, parliaments and peoples hailed with enthusiasm the triumph of negotiation and compromise for which Foreign Secy. Eden and Premier Mendes-France were so largely responsible at Geneva. In Cairo the compromise spirit triumphed when Egypt and Britain initialed a historic agreement ending the 72-year British occupation. Britain would, on signing of a detailed pact, withdraw all its troops from the Suez Canal zone within 20 months, with a proviso to return them if Egypt, any Arab state or Turkey were attacked within seven years. But meanwhile Britain's and France's "little" colonial wars went on, with little indication that similar remedies conforming with common sense and solemn international obligations would be applied.

From Victor Purcell, former Malayan civil servant and UN Malayan affairs consultant, came a balance-sheet (**Nation, 6/19**) of Britain's war in Malaya where 5,000 "Communists" (fighters for independence led by the Malayan CP) have for years fought a 250,000 government force. Purcell described some of

N. AFRICANS SEEK FREEDOM
Bastille Day in Paris in 1952

the efforts since 1951 of British High Commissioner Gen. Sir Gerald Templer to win "the hearts and minds of the people" and "guide them to nationhood":

- Collective punishment of villages suspected of aiding the "Communists," including deportation of whole populations;
- Presenting championship shields to troops and police who competed for them by hunting down and butchering human "dogs and foxes";
- Displaying the dead body of a woman "Communist" outside a police station;
- Ordering a portrait of Sun Yat-sen in a Chinese school replaced by one of the Queen; publicly endorsing a book called **Jungle Green**—dealing with the slaughter of "Communists"—in which Malayans are called "niggers" and the Chinese "bastards" and "dirty Chinks";
- Passing discriminatory legislation against Malaya's large Chinese population;
- Dividing the people into "nine splinter nationalities, surrounding each with a fence of legal barbed-wire . . . as a first step toward uniting Malaya."

NOT ENOUGH BOMBS: Two months ago Templer left a more unsettled Malaya than when he arrived. Thousands of young Chinese were leaving for the China mainland; the "Communist" army was as strong as ever; popular support for it had not lessened, although "the Royal Air Force in a year dropped more than 4,000 tons of bombs and expended 10,000 rockets and 2 million rounds of ammunition" (**NYT, 5/23**).

Recently the Malayan CP repeated its two-year-old offer to negotiate an end to the war, and presented a 7-point program including abolition of "emergency regulations," an all-party provisional government, land reform and development of national industry and commerce. Britain ignored it.

French North Africa

On June 9 Mendes-France warned the French Assembly that N. Africa "will be the next act of the drama we are living through." The situation in Tunisia and Morocco seemed to fulfill his warning, as Paris celebrated Bastille Day (July 14) with "an Algerian billy goat with golden horns and 40 camels ridden by Sahara Desert troops [and] an Algerian military band, playing native instruments" parading to remind Parisians "of the nation's past glories as a colonial power" (**N. Y. Herald Tribune, 7/15**). (The usual parade honoring their country's revolution by left-wing groups—in which several Africans were killed by police last year—was forbidden.)

In Tunisia popular pressure has forced even the puppet Cabinet to resign; twice during July France had to send troop reinforcements and paratroopers to bolster the colonial army; and a "liberation army" is already in action (**AP, 6/21**). There is intrigue from all sides: in the Paris **Tribune des Nations** (7/9) Hervé Martel pictured "a secret European coalition fighting [there] against France." Anticipating a vacuum if the French must leave, Britain and W. Germany are working to prevent Tunisia falling under either U.S. or Soviet domination. Martel writes of "strong [British] intelligence forces at work in the Tunisian nationalist movement" trying to persuade Tunisians to "rejoin the friends of Britain within the Arab bloc" and possibly shipping them arms via Egypt and Libya. The Adenauer government meanwhile is "prudently seeking to [control] the direction of" a network of "several hundred former soldiers and officers of Rommel [and] escaped Germans of World War II" who have the know-how of desert war and may still have hidden dumps of left-over German arms.

MORE VIOLENCE: In Morocco, writes Claude Bourdet (**Nation, 7/24**), "bombings, arson, and sabotage have become daily occurrences," and the police "have answered with equal ruthlessness, deporting such nationalist leaders as still remained in the country, torturing prisoners, and offering premiums for the capture of terrorists." But as in Indo-China, "the population is clearly on the side of the rebels." Since a terrorist es-

caped on a bicycle after shooting military commander Maj. Gen. d'Hauteville on June 20, the government has banned the use of bicycles, motor-cycles or motor scooters between dusk and dawn.

As lawyer for the widow of Tunisian labor leader Ferhat Hached, murdered by police thugs in Dec., 1952, Mendes-France has first-hand knowledge of government terrorism in the French colony. But Mendes-France looks upon N. Africa—unlike Indo-China—as the "body and soul of France" (**NYT, 7/18**), although he is reported willing to attempt a compromise solution of N. African problems in co-operation with nationalist leaders like the "moderate" but exiled Habib Bourguiba, whom he transferred to Paris two weeks ago.

THE FUNGUS
The Chicago Daily News said editorially (7/6) it had an "uneasy feeling ever since we noted that Hitlerian mustache worn by Col. Castillo Armas. We'd feel a little better if Castillo shaved it off or extended it east and west." We'll feel better when the Guatemalans shave off Castillo; whether they extend him east or west is their business.

Asia and East Africa

In Burma, "a furious battle" was reported raging between government forces and Chiang Kai-shek troops who have not been evacuated despite pledges by Formosa and the U.S. (**AP, 7/1**).

Fighting has broken out in the Portuguese colony of Daman in India, where liberation forces have occupied four villages on the Indian border; "Bombay newsmen who entered [Daman] disguised as merchants report Portugal is putting her . . . colony on a war footing" (**N. Y. World Telegram, 7/26**); Premier Nehru said French and Portuguese pockets along India's coast could "no longer be tolerated."

Latest fighting between Philippine government troops and the Huks centered on the latter's Mt. Aarayat strongpoint "bristling with pillboxes, sandbags and fox holes" (**NYT, 7/22**).

Jerusalem continued to be the scene of conflict between Israelis and Arabs.

Warfare was reported "raging at a new pitch" in Britain's Kenya colony and threatening to spread into neighboring Tanganyika, where a "state of emergency" was declared in the northern province (**NYT, 4/18; 5/19**).

Latin America

Direct news of the continuing violence and bloodshed in Guatemala continued sparse last week. Dictator Armas had set up a McCarthy-style, all-powerful and uncontrolled five-man national Committee to investigate Communist "infiltration." In the House of Commons on July 5 Labour MP George Wigg asked if the British government were aware that "American aircraft manned by American pilots" machine-gunned and napalm-bombed Guatemalan civilians; Foreign Affairs Minister Selwyn Lloyd denied any such knowledge. Wigg's point was confirmed by the English-language daily **News** of Mexico City (7/7), which reported that Fritz Sremmler (sic), one of many U.S. passengers from Guatemala City questioned at the La Aurora airport, "said U.S. pilots participated in the brief invasion" of Guatemala, and that "these pilots stayed in the best hotel in Managua and made no attempt to hide the nature of their activities."

In the **San Francisco Chronicle** Roman Catholic priest Sebastian Buccellato, expelled by Guatemala's Arbenz regime, admitted working with "35 lay catechists" to persuade Indian peasants to turn down land offered by the government, nevertheless felt he "had done nothing political"; he was bewildered when a peasant who received land said that "if getting land is Communism, I guess I am one, too." Armas' new agrarian law calls for "return of land unduly expropriated. . . . Among those who will undoubtedly recover some, if not all, of their land is the United Fruit Co." (**NYT, 7/28**).

Costa Rica's President Jose Figueres was reported (**NANA, 7/23**)

"... deeply concerned about the international operation [involving] Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Honduras and the U.S. . . . that was employed to overthrow the [Arbenz] government. . . . And he wonders if this most recent 'invasion' may not have set a pattern. . . ."

Figueres reminded the U.S. that "what the people want now is good government, freedom of speech and press, education and a good living." Paris' **Le Monde** (6/29) commented that this is what the Guatemalans have tasted and "neither police brutality nor dollars can cause that taste to be forgotten."

How France sees it

Commenting on the roving U.S. loyalty board—"emulators of Sen. McCarthy"—who have come to Paris to investigate U.S. employes of the UN Food & Agriculture Orgn., **Le Monde** (7/10) said:

"The dangers of such inquisitions have been many times exposed, as has the contradiction with the formal principles of international organizations. The new and particularly grave fact is that they are being conducted . . . on our soil. . . . Any act of a foreign state based on the idea of restraint, or purporting to have a jurisdictional character, is illegal and incompatible with the principle of territorial sovereignty, even if it is performed under the shelter of an embassy.

". . . French sovereignty is not alone in question. It may be a question of the very interests of persons under our own jurisdiction. If U.S. officials are sometimes asked by the investigating committee to speak about the opinions or political activities of their colleagues of other nationalities, it is not excluded that French UNESCO employes should be the objects of uncontrollable denunciations and thus find themselves secretly injured in their work. . . . It would be at least incongruous if France tolerated such an intrusion on the part of a foreign country."

Save Irvin!

SINCE last spring Walter Lee Irvin, a young Negro, has been waiting for Gov. Charley Johns of Florida to set a new execution date for him

in the Groveland Case. Convicted a second time after the Supreme Court had ordered a new trial for him, Irvin is the victim of jimcrow justice at its worst.

There is still time to save his life. A moment of YOUR life may do it. Write or wire today to Gov. Johns urging him and the Florida Parole Board to commute Irvin's sentence. The address: State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

new discussions." A similar proposal was adopted at the recent Congress of the W. German Social Democratic Party (second largest), whose president Erich Ollenhauer deplored Western failure at the Berlin conference "to give serious consideration to the Soviet proposal for a Europe-wide collective security system" (**Reuters, 7/22**). In Britain 17 Labour MP's put in a resolution demanding talks to settle the German problem, amid "mounting" popular clamor for four-power negotiations to unite and neutralize Germany (**NYT, 7/24**).

AVOIDING "DISASTER": All these developments occurred before the July 24 Soviet proposal for a conference of all interested European states and the

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Here's the first prize, dear—you're well on the way to becoming 'Miss Universe!'"

U. S. (with China as an observer) to discuss a European collective security system. If such a conference were held, it would, said **CSM** (7/22), prove "not only fatal for the European Defense Community" but "disastrous" for the entire Western military policy. Washington would therefore do almost anything to prevent it, and would have the support of those still-powerful elements in the British and French governments whose retention of power depends on continuing the war-preparations policy. But the realities of the German problem were such that the West might not be able to make its rejection of the note stick for any length of time.

Some French opposition to EDC had been based on France's over-extension in Indo-China, and might now disappear; so that ratification could not be entirely ruled out. But the Soviet proposal considerably reduced these slim-at-best chances of ratification before August 15 as Britain and the U. S. demanded. Prior to the Soviet note, Washington had a second line of defense in the belief that, barring ratification, France might agree to W. German sovereignty. Now even this was not assured.

GERMANY—THE TRUTH: Washington is furthermore caught in a trap of its own making in Germany. If it rejects the Soviet proposal, the U. S. S. R. can—and most likely will—start direct talks with W. Germany, once the latter has achieved the sovereignty the U. S. and Britain have promised within two months. For France such a move holds the threat of diplomatic isolation since only by implementing its alliance with the U. S. S. R. can it escape the weak, satellite role to which Washington has consigned it. For Britain it would mean losing the dangerous game it has been playing of trying to become the arbiter of W. Europe. For the U. S. it could mean the end of all influence in Europe.

Business Week (7/24), noting the strength of Soviet policy in Germany, pointed out that W. Germany can be kept in the Western alliance only if the U. S. can "convince the German people that unity will finally come from the West rather than the East." But "the plain fact is," as former Nazi Ambassador Hubert Von Dirksen said recently, that "the Soviet Union holds in its hand the key to the solution of the German problem—reunification in peace." Washington offers W. Germany unity—but only at the price of war. Kingsley Martin (New Statesman, 7/24) wrote:

> "This East-West war would be as destructive to Germany as to Britain. . . . It is no accident that men as experienced and well-informed as Pastor Niemoeller, ex-Chancellor Bruening, Rauschning, and Sebastian Haffner have all warned us in recent weeks that Germany is at least as likely to return to the policy of Rapallo and the Nazi-Soviet pact as she is to destroy herself in war against the limitless manpower and nuclear arms of the Communist world."

DR. JOHN HAD ENOUGH: The growing demand for unity—without war—is

DR. OTTO JOHN
What do you know, Otto?

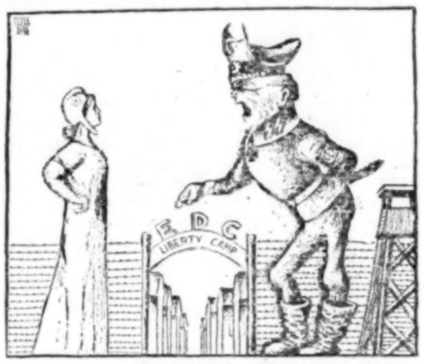
the major development in W. Germany today. Powerful impetus to this drive was given by the July Evangelical Church Congress in Leipzig (E. Germany), attended by 10,000 W. German Protestants, including seven Christian Democratic and two Social Democratic members of the Bonn parliament. The London **Daily Express** (7/12) called the congress "a victory for the E. Germans and third-force men in W. Germany."

Dr. Otto John, W. German Security Chief (its J. Edgar Hoover), who defected to E. Germany in the hope, he said, of stirring all Germans to press for unity, cited this congress as one proof "that there are still possibilities of reunification." His subsequent statement that the Nazis who now swarm in key W. German positions will control a rearmed W. Germany, and that Adenauer's policy "has entered a blind alley," will have strong impact. Western diplomats believe his case will not be an isolated one. John had recently held talks in Washington with CIA chief Allen Dulles; his office was intimately associated with most W. German and Western secret organizations and with the camouflaged War Ministry directing W. German rearmament. His flight therefore had world repercussions.

IN FEAR OF PEACE: These developments in Europe, coming on the heels of the "huge political strategic disaster" (Alsops, 7/23) in Indo-China and Asia, show more clearly than ever that Washington's policies have reached the end of a dead-end street. Yet Washington feverishly intensified the policies that have already failed. In face of India's opposition and British reluctance, it insists on a S. E. Asia pact. It clings to EDC which, even if ratified, cannot be made to work.

Fearing peace, Washington has made the Indo-China truce a pretext for a new all-out campaign in the business press for bigger military appropriations. **N. Y. Herald Tribune** business editor Donald I. Rogers, explaining that Britain and France can no longer defend their empires, asked (7/25):

> "Who then? Wall St. knows and bet on it last week. Military stocks enjoyed the kind of loving attention that hasn't been lavished on them by investors since the nation's venture into Korea four years ago. . . . Wall Streeters have deduced what the rest of us will learn with time, that Indo-China's 'peace' means that for several years the government will spend more and more for defense."



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

"Don't you understand that in there you'll be protected against invasion?"

SNAPBACKS & SENSE: The **J of C** (7/26) explained that the end of the slide-off last spring was due to the expectation of bigger war in Asia; if there is to be "real zip in the snapback" this fall, "the impetus will have to come from other than ordinary factors . . . a sizable increase in defense appropriations."

With this huge political and economic stake in war, Washington last week was bending new efforts to make treasonable—and punishable by imprisonment or death—any word or action in behalf of peace. Any question of "communism" had ceased to be relevant—if it ever was—in this bipartisan panic induced by the solid common sense of millions of Americans beneath the surface hysteria.

Yet if one public figure would speak up for sanity, this common sense could break through.

Two accounts of China plane incidents

AFTER the British airliner was shot down off Hainan by a Chinese plane July 23, and China apologized and offered compensation for loss of life and property (three Americans including two children were killed, three others wounded), Washington in a protest sent via London called it a "barbarous and lawless . . . criminal attack." It also protested against an "unprovoked and wanton attack" by two Chinese planes and a gunboat on "two U. S. carrier-based planes . . . on a mission of mercy searching the area" of the Hainan disaster, "approximately 13 miles from Hainan." (China considers 12 miles the limit of territorial waters.)

Peking in a similarly strong protest to the U. S. said that "aircraft carriers and several destroyers" arrived off Hainan July 26 and "four U. S. aircraft from the carriers" flew over Yulin harbor, S. Hainan. Half an hour later "12 U. S. fighter airplanes invaded the air above Lohwei (Hainan) and attacked two Chinese patrol aircraft, which were shot down." Another two U. S. planes "dived to strafe two Polish merchant ships and a Chinese escort vessel. They fled" when the latter fired back. Calling this an "outrageous act of aggression" by the U. S., Peking said the U. S. had since the Geneva settlement "directed and supported the Chiang Kai-shek gang to step up their invasion and harassment of China's mainland and their piratical activities."

NYT reported from London that China had informed the British that a British plane scouring the disaster area for survivors would be allowed to continue, but any other "war planes" sent to search would be fired on. British MP's questioned Foreign Secy. Eden on the "grave implications" of the U. S. "quick-on-the-trigger" policy in the China area. The **Manchester Guardian** wondered why U. S. planes were still seeking airliner survivors after three days, thought this "might have appeared as a provocation." In France, **Le Monde** denounced the "nervousness of Congress and the development of force by the U. S. Navy" but had no criticism of China over the incidents. **Paris-Presse** saw China's quick acceptance of responsibility for the airliner disaster as an act in harmony with the new Geneva spirit of accommodation. **NYT** said the paper "seemed to attribute this view to Premier Mendes-France."

In Congress one voice was raised. Said Rep. A. M. Miller (R-Neb.):

> "Someone is spoiling for a fight and I don't like it. . . . I don't think we are justified in bringing our planes and personnel to patrol the coast of China to protect British ships."

INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

'Salt' wins the grand prize

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

KARLOVY VARY, CSR.

HERE at the eighth Intl. Film Festival in Czechoslovakia, the audience is a very sophisticated one; they are film producers, actors and critics—watching four films a day for two weeks—from all over the world. Yet they were so moved by some of the sequences in the Mine-Mill Union production **Salt of the Earth** that they broke into applause during the showing. When the film ended, there was an ovation for the film and for its star, Mexican actress Rosaura Revueltas. It did not end until she modestly left the hall.

The official verdict bore out the first impressions: **Salt of the Earth** shared the grand prize with the Soviet comedy **Faithful Friendship**. The jury called the dual award a "happy omen for peace." Miss Revueltas received the prize for the best acting. She told the press:

> "The wonderful reception of **Salt of the Earth** touched me deeply. I remembered the miners in Silver City, I remembered how I wanted to kneel before their wives when I first became acquainted with their life before we made the film.
>
> "The film is not aimed against the U. S. On the contrary it is a pro-American films showing courageous people fighting for equality as granted by the American Constitution."

OTHER AMERICA: Salt of the Earth is a superb drama, but it seems to this correspondent that there is a special reason for the warmth of its reception just now. People of the socialist countries speak generously of the "other America" which is opposed to Washington's policies. After Guatemala, proof of the existence of a decent and progressive America was sorely needed. **Salt of the Earth** was just that reassurance.

Humor can jump international barriers, as was shown by the fact that the French film **The Three Musketeers**, a kind of super Doug Fairbanks yarn with custard pie thrown into the duels, got many laughs. And the Soviet film **True Friendship** had people, even those who understood little Russian, chuckling for hours.

AIR OF RELAXATION: This increase in the number of lighter films reflects the fact that most of the world, outside of the U. S., has relaxed a little from the tenseness of the Korean war days. There is not just a hope, but rather an expectation that there will generally be peace.

Perhaps the most important change in recent years in these festivals is the increase in number and quality of films from Asia. Japan and India have long had big film industries, but now China and other countries have begun to produce fine films. One of the most beautiful and moving dramas shown at Karlovy Vary was the color film produced in China in 1953 based on the centuries-old story of the tragic love of Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai. The rest of the world will be enjoying this film while Sen. Knowland denies it to America.

The Florida story

(Continued from Page 1)

sible conviction.

"In an action in prosecution for conspiracy, if one act is proved within the Statute of Limitations, then all other acts—even beyond the Statute—could be introduced in evidence; therefore questions concerning those actions would be incriminating."

10 DAYS TO JAIL: The Brautigam jailing-mill works this way. Information about "subversives" is funneled by one Al Spears, billed as an "under-cover man for the FBI," to Damon Runyon Jr. who publishes it in the News. Almost immediately, a person named loses his job and becomes a virtual social outcast. In due course he gets a subpena to appear before Brautigam. After "taking the Fifth" there, he goes before the Grand Jury the following Thursday. Around ten days after the first subpena, he finds himself before a judge who jails him for "contempt."

The new-style Dade County terror began last January when Leo Sheiner, a Miami attorney with an impressive record of fighting jimcrow, "took the Fifth" on Grand Jury "charges" of membership in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Communist Party, Natl. Lawyers Guild and other organizations. Sheiner's chief accuser was Paul Crouch (see story p. 8). As disbarment proceedings were started against Sheiner in April, Runyon was already in full blast in the News and the Brautigam progressive-jailing mill was going into high gear.

FIRST VICTIMS: The Sheiner disbarment move was brought at the instance of an attorney named Ellis Rubin, who has now been appointed Brautigam's special assistant in charge of weeding out subversives. To date, the Brautigam mill has caught the following victims, all but one Jewish:

- **Max Shlafrock**, a building contractor with municipal contracts. (Shlafrock, with Sheiner, "took the Fifth" not only before the Grand Jury but before the Internal Security Subcommittee sitting in New Orleans. The News had "charged" Shlafrock with sending a greetings ad to the **Daily Worker;** it later developed the ad was sent with a handwritten letter and check which were not in his handwriting.)
- **Mike Shantzek**, house painter, formerly in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
- **Charles Smolikoff**, gift-shop owner and former Transport Workers Union organizer at Pan-American Airways.
- **Charles Marks**, filling station operator.
- **Philip Feldman**, commercial photographer.
- **Morris Rohinsky**, house painter and Jewish Cultural Center officer.
- **Jose Carbonell**, carpenter.
- **Mrs. Leah A. Benemovsky**, 56, of Miami Beach.
- **David Lippert**, Pan-American Airlines mechanic.
- **Dr. H. D. Prensky**, prominent Miami Beach dentist.
- **Walter Marks**, son of Charles, paint and body shop supt.

The last four were to appear before Circuit Judge George E. Holt July 28; Maurice Carroll, 60, Jewish Cultural Center manager, was given a week's grace before having to appear. Mrs. Sylvia Shandloff was also summoned but was said to have "vanished."

BAIL DENIED: Several of the victims were already in jail last week, with one-year terms and without bail. Although the State Supreme Court ordered Shantzek released on $2,500 bail, Judge Holt refused to accept that as a precedent so that each victim has to make a separate appeal to the higher court. (Holt denied bail even in the case of Smolikoff who has a rheumatic heart.) The Supreme Court was about to go on vacation, but by GUARDIAN press time the Supreme Court had granted bail to Rohinsky and Carbonell, and release of Smolikoff and Feldman on $2,500 bail each was expected.

Among targets of Runyon's attacks was Miami's First Unitarian Church; current events forums have been held in the church and it was suggested that those attending them were "reds." After the attack the church's minister, Rev. Joseph Barth, called on the FBI; he later informed his congregation that the FBI told him:

- It never gave information either to the press or to Brautigam.
- It considered Spears an unreliable person.

The minister strongly attacked "yellow journalism" but not the FBI, whose statement about not feeding material to the press or to Brautigam he apparently accepted. Meanwhile the procession of Miamians to jail for believing in the Constitution went on; some of the victims' families already faced destitution.

CITATION

For arranging to have 11 citizens of Miami, Fla., cited and jailed for "contempt," State Atty. Brautigam (c.) and Circuit Judge Holt (r.) get commendations of the Exchange Club of Miami for themselves and the Dade County grand jury.

"Fictitious immunity"

"The proposed immunity legislation is not necessary for the exercise by Congress of its legitimate functions. It is intended, rather, to aid in the current drive against heterodoxy. It gives a fictitious immunity by making the witness testify against himself, and then bringing upon his head the many sanctions, penalties and disabilities which a powerful society can impose upon its minorities. Most important, it destroys a constitutional privilege, inherent in our governmental system and predicated upon the dignity of the individual."

—N. Y. civil liberties atty. Leonard B. Boudin in **Georgetown Law Journal, May, 1954.**

Mary Church Terrell

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, noted Negro educator and campaigner for civil rights, and widow of the late D.C. municipal court judge Robert H. Terrell, died July 24 at the Anne Arundel General Hospital, Annapolis, Md. Born in Memphis the year Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, she was 90 last year. She had lived over 60 years in Washington, D.C., where she was buried in the Lincoln Memorial Cemetery.

In 1949 she received Doctor of Humane Letters degrees from Oberlin College (where she graduated in 1884) and Howard University. Her battles for Negro and women's rights began with her appointment as one of the first two women—and the first Negro woman—on the D.C. school board, but she considered the 1950 court ban on jimcrow restaurants her greatest victory. She "decided I would like to eat in Thompson's Restaurant" in Washington a few years ago, and invited two Negro and a white man to accompany her. They were refused service; sat at the table several hours, meanwhile planning legal action.

Following this victory she continued her fight to break down jimcrow in Washington's public schools, lived to celebrate the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated education. Meanwhile she was active in efforts to free Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, sentenced to life in the Georgia State Prison for the self-defense killing of a white farmer.

A close friend of Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Terrell in 1898 began a fight which did not end until U.S. women by constitutional amendment were given the vote in 1920. She represented U.S Negro women at the Intl. Council of Women, Berlin, in 1904; helped organize the NAACP and was a charter member. H. G. Wells wrote the foreword to her autobiography.

CALENDAR

Chicago

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An ordeal of our time

CHICAGO, ILL.

I scribble this to explain the terrible situation that confronts me as well as thousands of others who have helped in times past and would still like to if it were possible. I have my wife, sisters, etc., pleading with me not to get your paper because I have two boys going to college; one has been in the service, the other is 20 and will have to go one of these days. I have friends retired, getting social security, who are afraid if they take the paper they will be cut off—and my family are afraid my boys will not be able to get a job with a father who has been in the liberal movement all his life. As for myself, I have no fear, even though I am a foreman in a defense plant, being 66 years old. I never sold my birthright for a mess of pottage yet and it is too late to start now. Guatemala finished whatever chance there was for me to give up the fight for anyone until mother nature kisses my eyelids shut.

(Name withheld by N. G.)

THE STORY OF RHODA MILLER DE SILVA

How Washington's agents kidnaped an American woman 12,000

July 24, 1954

To: The President of the United States
Dwight Eisenhower, The White House, Wash., D. C.

I AM ADDRESSING this protest to you, Mr. President, because you yourself have recently stated that "when there is real violence done to our people" public opinion can be depended upon to rectify it. As an American woman who has recently been forcibly brought back to the U.S. from my home in Ceylon, separated by 12,000 miles from my husband, there is no question that I have been the object of "real violence."

Briefly, here are the facts. I was born in the U. S. and am married to a Ceylonese national, Joseph de Silva. I have lived abroad for some 10 years—until, in fact, I was deposited at Idlewild airport on a bitter cold March morning of 1954 with no possessions but the tropical clothing on my back and some $1.50 in money.

Joseph de Silva and I met in London in 1945, when I was writing for the (London) **Economist.** We worked as journalists in Poland and later, in London, collaborated on a book, "Peace on the Vistula." In 1953 we decided to make our permanent home in his country, Ceylon. (The McCarran Act, with its barriers against Asian and other peoples, and its selectivity in practice as to race, color and thought, eliminated at the outset any idea we might have entertained of coming together to the U. S.)

UPROARIOUS LAUGHTER: Ceylon law required 12 months residence before I could adopt my husband's citizenship. On the morning of March 17, 1954—some two weeks before my residence period would have been completed—10 police officials took me from our home in Kandy, Ceylon, raced me by car, with accompanying jeep, the 75 miles to Colombo, where I was moved from one police center to another, and finally to the airport. There, at 3:30 p.m., I was herded into TWA Flight No. 903—enroute to New York.

At the head of the ramp leading into the plane stood an unidentified American, apparently an official. "Where are you going?" he asked. "I have no idea," I answered. "You're going to New York," he said. "On whose orders?" I asked. "On the orders of the American Embassy and the Ceylon Government," he answered. "In that sequence?" I asked. At that he laughed uproariously.

RHODA MILLER de SILVA
There was a violation of our heritage

At no point on my journey half around the world was I able to break loose from the "custody of the TWA" in which the American Embassy in Ceylon had placed me and which threatened me with violence every step of the way. At no stage was I able to communicate either with my husband in Ceylon or with friends who might have helped me enroute.

No charges were ever preferred against me by the Ceylonese police. The Ceylonese Supreme Court, with remarkable dispatch, issued a writ of habeas corpus on my husband's demand. It could not be served because when he arrived at police headquarters from the court house, he was told I had been carried off by airplane less than an hour earlier.

TWO MYSTERIOUS AMERICANS: The Ceylon newspapers on March 18 reported that **"two American Security officers assisted in the deportation of Mrs. de Silva."**

The part played by these two has very sinister undertones for Americans living abroad. I was immediately turned over to them at police headquarters in Colombo. They were "from the consulate," but refused to produce credentials. I never learned their names. They knew "all about me," they said. "So you want to be a Ceylonese citizen—is that it, Mrs. de Silva?" the spokesman of the two asked me, underlining the Mrs. as if it had some private meaning for him. "But you are still an American citizen, remember. Here—fill in this application form. Don't be afraid to sign it—it's only a passport blank."

I needed only to "co-operate" with them, he said, and they would "help" me. It was true that my passport had expired, but there is nothing in Ceylon law that required me, as a foreigner intending to adopt my husband's nationality, to possess an American passport. The manner of these men was full of ugly innuendo and they appeared to me to be playing a game that is as old as history: here was a woman who, when faced with the bleak prospect of forced separation from her husband, might accept any alternative that was put to her. I believe, Mr. President, that these two men were trying to capture me as an informer. I gave them short shrift.

THE KIDNAPING: American authorities were—and only American authorities could have been—responsible for the following:

- American authorities refused to delay the plane flight from Colombo, although it was apparent that a writ of habeas corpus could not be issued by 3:30 p.m. This was the only legitimate "help" I required—not passport application blanks.
- American authorities held me captive in the plane at Bombay, where we arrived the night of March 17—the last point within the British Commonwealth that this plane would touch, and therefore the last point from which my return to Ceylon could be easily arranged when a writ was obtained. I demanded the right to ask the Indian police to take me in their custody. The air terminus in Bombay is Indian—not American—territory. Yet I was prevented by U. S. personnel from

THE STORY OF HUMBERTO GRANADAS

Strange odyssey of a scientist for peace

By Dr. Johannes Glavind

(The author is a distinguished biochemist of the Polytechnical Institute at Copenhagen.)

A LITTLE over a year ago a young scientist left Denmark to return to his homeland, Colombia. What happened on that strange homeward journey is, I think, of world interest.

Dr. Humberto Granadas received his degree as doctor of odontology (science of teeth) at the University of Bogota in 1940. He was then 22. He continued his studies in the U. S., working with the Danish Nobel Prize winner Prof. H. Dam who discovered Vitamin K. Prof. Dam brought him to Denmark as his assistant in the Polytechnical Institute at Copenhagen. He studied, wrote and lectured in his field and attended scientific congresses in Scandinavia and Western Europe.

In 1952 he was winding up his studies in Basle, Switzerland, when the Colombian Peace Committee asked him to go to the Peking Peace Conference as their delegate. He went to Peking, returning from there to Denmark early in 1953 when he prepared to go home. A promising career of lecturing and research awaited him.

He planned to go by way of England, Holland, the Dutch W. Indies and Venezuela. In Amsterdam the strange cold-war story began and I piece together the details from letters he has written to me since.

ENTER THE FBI: His passage was booked on the Dutch M. S. Hera, due to leave Amsterdam at 3 p.m., May 13. On May 12 all passengers were notified by telegram to be on hand by 11 a.m. the next day. Granados arrived with two suitcases and a portfolio of papers. By noon he had passed through customs and was about to board ship when two Dutch security police agents told him he was under arrest and whisked him off to a police station.

There four detectives took away his luggage and papers and stripped him naked, then rubbed his whole body with a special fluid designed to show up any secret message he might be carrying on his skin.

At first he was told he had been arrested for failing to inform authorities of his Amsterdam address, and that the Danish police had reported he was a dangerous Communist agent who had fled to Denmark. When he protested that this was absurd (he had completed almost ten years of recognized scientific work in Denmark) the Dutch police told him they had received instructions from the U.S.' FBI which considered him a very dangerous international Communist agent.

A CURIOUS OFFER: After more questioning and a number of threats, one of the detectives made a curious proposition to him. He could stay in Holland, where he would be given a good position in a scientific laboratory, or else return to Copenhagen. The detective added that Colombia was a dictatorship which would probably throw him into jail.

If he persisted in going home, however, they would intercept the Hera then making its way through the canals and get him aboard. Granados rejected the proposition and insisted on returning to Colombia. Detectives then raced overland with him and caught the Hera as it reached the open sea.

WELCOME TO VENEZUELA: Once on board, he decided not to tempt fate further and told the captain he wanted to change his itinerary so that he would not stop at Venezuela but go on with the ship directly to Baranquilla, Colombia. He offered to pay the difference at once.

The captain said there was no need to pay at the time; arrangements could be made when they neared Venezuela. Granados later noted that the captain's persistent refusal aroused his suspicions. On the evening of June 1, the Hera entered the Venezuelan harbor of La Guaira and Granados repeated his offer to pay for passage straight to Baranquilla.

The captain said it was too late that day for the Venezuelan authorities to come aboard, and there would still be

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Brownell's FBI covers the world . . . ev

time to make arrangements. During the night 12 Venezuelan launches surrounded the Hera, each with three guards aboard. At 7 a.m. when customs authorities came on board two Venezuelan policemen and two plainclothesmen came too, went directly to Granados' cabin and told him to come with them. When he protested he was not planning to enter Venezuela, the Captain appeared, told him the boat could no longer carry him. The police then forcibly took him off.

"STOWAWAY": He spent the next night in a dreadful cell in the jail of La Guaira and on the following day was taken to the central security police headquarters in the El Paraiso (Paradise) district of Caracas. For five hours police under the direction of Louis R. Castro, who has the reputation of an expert in torture, examined his clothes, luggage and notebooks. While fingering Granados' steamship ticket, Castro blandly told him the charge against

Judge postpones ruling in Kwak deportation case

Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, anti-Rhee Korean musicians whom the Justice Dept. seeks to deport to S. Korea and probable death, got a further breathing-spell last month. Last April the Kwaks won a temporary order restraining the Dept. from proceeding with the deportation. The Dept's move to set aside the order was to have been heard July 1 in Federal District Court. The judge has now postponed a ruling on the move until the Court of Appeals makes a decision on another case involving the question of physical persecution of deportees.

00 miles from home

leaving the plane even during refueling, which I believe to be contrary to international air safety regulations. American personnel on this plane even refused to send a cable for me to Joseph de Silva in Ceylon although they knew (since all but $10 of my money had been confiscated) that this would be the last point from which I would have sufficient funds to communicate with him.

- At Rome I learned that the writ had been issued by the Ceylon Supreme Court. Now it was clear why I was confined to the plane by American authorities in Bombay and why, although on Indian soil, I was prevented by Americans from making contact with Indian authorities.

- American authorities stopped cables I sent to friends enroute. One, sent from Zurich to Paris urgently asking for a lawyer to meet me at Orly airport, should normally have been delivered in some 45 minutes. It arrived at the Paris address about **24 hours later**—when I was already in New York.

- When the plane took off from Colombo, the TWA staff told me I was traveling without ticket and without passport and that I was confined to the plane for the entire trip. The following day, in mid-voyage, I was told that there was, in the custody of the TWA, a passport in my name: a five-day passport "for repatriation only." I was also handed the stub of the plane ticket which I had earlier been told I did not possess.

THE CRIME: On its face, the ticket bears the note that it was delivered on March 16, **the day before my arrest.** International airlines do not issue tickets without passports. I knew then, therefore, that the five-day repatriation passport—which I have never had in my possession, nor even seen—must have been issued by your Ambasador to Ceylon, Philip Crowe, at least two days before the two men who called themselves consular agents urged me to sign a blank applying for a passport.

[Mrs de Silva's deportation precipitated a debate in the Ceylon Senate, in the course of which Senator S. Nadeson, one of Ceylon's most eminent lawyers, attributed the action to "external anti-communism" which, he said, "may be identified . . . with only one country in the world today, and that is America." He went on, as further quoted by Mrs. de Silva:]

"External anti-communism is a danger to the peace, prosperity and security of practically every country in the world, particularly the countries of southeast Asia. [Ceylon must] formulate our policy so that there is no interference in the affairs of this country by American anti-communism, which is seeking to involve the whole world in war.

"I cannot help feeling that the main reason which induced the deportation of Mrs. Joseph de Silva appears to have been that her presence here was certainly embarrassing to the American Embassy in this country, because if any man or woman in Ceylon has been responsible for a full exposure of American policy it was Mrs. Joseph de Silva.

"Mrs. Joseph de Silva wrote that very remarkably brilliant book . . . 'The Rosenbergs—What Was Their Crime?' It was rather embarrassing to the American Embassy in Ceylon that the wife of a Ceylon national, who at that time was technically an American citizen . . . should have written a book of that nature."

Only a high U.S. authority could have prevailed upon the Prime Minister to provide Ceylonese props and stage hands for what was an essentially American script. Until my deportation, the Prime Minister of Ceylon had never deported a foreign national who was legally in the country.

DEGRADATION OF A SERVICE: Let us suppose for a moment, Mr. President, that the order for my deportation was actually an independent act of the Ceylon Prime Minister. If that had been the case,

Drawings by Pablo Picasso

there was only one legitimate and justifiable course of action for a U.S. Embassy to take—if it were performing the functions that Americans assume their embassies abroad still perform: to do everything possible to prevent the forcible separation of a wife from her husband; to find a solution of our problem that was acceptable to both of us.

The job of the U.S. Embassy was to delay the departure of the plane (one telephone call would have accomplished that) so that the writ of habeas corpus could have been served. If that was not done in Ceylon, U.S. authorities still had only one legitimate function: to expedite, in every possible way, my return to Ceylon so that I could have appeared before the Supreme Court to show cause why I should not have been deported.

Instead, the Embassy processed a passport "for repatriation only" without my consent and without my knowledge. This must have taken several days. They sent two unidentified men who called themselves "consular agents" to harass me and try to get me to sign a passport application blank when they knew that a passport "for repatriation only" had already been issued several days earlier and was already in the hands of the airlines. Finally, they literally railroaded me out of Ceylon—and laughed with pleasure at their achievement.

"FORCIBLE REPATRIATION": The Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly Dec. 10, 1948, and for which the U.S. delegation voted, states:

> "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the states."

There is nothing here that limits such protection to families who share the views that are currently popular with a particular U.S. Embassy, or a particular Congressional body, or a particular Secy. of State—or even a particular President. Are Americans abroad expected to be chameleons, whose opinions change as one administration in Washington gives way to another? Is the only alternative for them the danger that an unseen hand will reach out and wreck their homes, break their marriages, disrupt their work and otherwise decompose their lives? How long can kidnaping and "repatriation by force" exist side by side with our American heritage of independent thought?

A FRIGHTFUL PRECEDENT: Joseph de Silva and I come from lands separated by half the world; from different social and cultural environments, different civilizations. We are even clothed in different colored skins. But in our lives and in our work we have been devoted and inseparable.

I protest to you, Mr. President, not only for myself, and for him, but for all of those Americans whose lives have placed them in foreign countries and whose peaceable work and very existence are threatened if such precedents as this kidnaping are permitted to pass without redress.

I am therefore bringing this matter to your attention and to the attention of the public opinion in which you have recently affirmed your confidence.

I am sure that you, as the highest authority in this land, will be in a position to see that all necessary action is taken to expedite a reunion between myself and my husband, Joseph de Silva.

Respectfully submitted,
Rhoda Miller de Silva

HEINRICH HIMMLER
. . . even as did Hitler's Gestapo

him was that he had a stowaway aboard the Hera. Later questioning brought again the "international Communist" charge.

The next few days were divided between Caracas' "Model Prison" and the security police office of Dos Caminos (Two Ways) outside the city. There Granados was kept manacled in a pitch-black cell, 30 by 19 inches. All through the night guards opened his cell every 15 minutes, gave him only a little coffee and very little to eat.

A TASTE OF PARADISE: Questioning was directed by a celebrated torturer, Lorenzo Silva, and a Mr. Jackson—described as representing the FBI in Bogota—who had flown to Caracas to investigate Granados. In three weeks of questioning the police covered every phase of the scientist's life since birth, revealing a minute knowledge of every step he had taken in Europe since his return from China.

With a pistol at his chest police also forced him to sign his travelers' checks, thereby robbing him of all the money he had with him.

He spent June 27-29 back in the El Paraiso headquarters of Louis Castro. There he saw men tortured and dying; he himself was tortured with electrical instruments (a familiar practice in Venezuelan prisons).

"IT'S THE FBI": Finding nothing incriminating in his record or what he said, Castro frankly explained the situation to him. The Venezuelans had turned up nothing to link him with local Communists, but the FBI was obliging them to keep him in Venezuela indefinitely. He would not be allowed to communicate with Colombian diplomatic officials or anyone else outside the country. Castro said the doctor ought to know Venezuela was under U.S. control.

He was then taken back to the "Model Prison" which houses many of Venezuela's political prisoners, having had no trial but with sentence of indefinite imprisonment.

A TOUCHING FAREWELL: To all questions from his colleagues in Copenhagen or his family in Bogota, the Venezuelan government said they knew nothing of his whereabouts. He had seemingly vanished. Other political prisoners showed him the ropes and collected money for him. He smuggled two letters out of prison: one to Copenhagen, the other to his family in Bogota.

Wheels were set in motion and protests grew thicker. Late last September, after 3 months and 20 days in prison, he was taken aboard a plane at Caracas bound for Bogota. Detective Gustavo Ruido was careful first to take from him the little money that had been raised by his fellow-prisoners.

THE FORMULA STICKS: In Bogota the Natl. University welcomed him and asked him to prepare a series of scientific lectures on his work abroad. The first one was an outstanding success. Then suddenly a pall dropped over his career again. The series was canceled. He was blacklisted by every official or semi-official institution.

His colleagues at home wanted his services and the benefit of his experience but made it plain that FBI orders had followed him to Bogota. The Colombian secret police repeated the formula, "international Communist agent."

Once before there was a network directed with similar thoroughness all over the world: the Gestapo.

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A LETTER FROM VINCENT HALLINAN

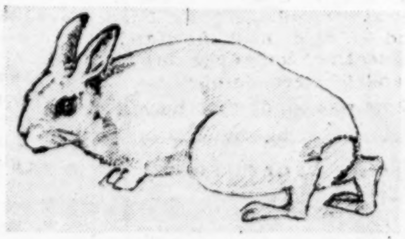
Danny and the Mother Rabbit

Every GUARDIAN reader knows Vincent Hallinan, lawyer, Progressive Party candidate for President, and now a political prisoner (after a trial for "income tax evasion") at McNeill's Island penitentiary, Steilacoom, Wash.

Here is a different glimpse of Hallinan, free-hand artist and father separated from his wife Vivian and their "Wild Irish Rogue" sons. The sketch herewith was embodied in a letter he wrote last month to the youngest Hallinan son.

DEAR DANNY:

Today I saw a mother rabbit with her little child and I stopped and talked to her. I told her all about my Danny and what a wonderful little guy he is and all the friends we used to have—oh, Little Bear and Little Horse and Little Cow and all of them. But she didn't seem interested; I guess she wanted to talk about her little Danny Rabbit and, all of a sudden, there he was sitting behind a little hill, looking and listening with all his ears.



Drawing by Vincent Hallinan

So I said: "Can any of your little boys swim 38 laps in the pool, or will they pick up snakes and are they The Iron Infant?" And Mommy Rabbit sniffed as much as to say: "So what is all that?"

And then I remembered that all mommys think that their babies are the best on Earth—and of course they are! So I said: "Your little boy is very beautiful and strong." And she looked very pleased.

Then I went away and said to myself: "What would they say if they ever saw Daniel Barry Hallinan, a minor, who is the most wonderful little guy on earth; I miss him a whole lot in this Springtime which is the child-hood of earth and he is very dear to me and I will write a letter just to him and tell him so."

So I'm telling you that and I hope you are having fun and keeping those big kids out of trouble and taking care of Vivian, because you are the only one young enough to do all these things. And so good-bye and a big kiss,

Vin No. 23938

CASE OF THE POISON PIGEON

Brownell blackmailed by informer Crouch as stench in the stoolie stable grows

By Lawrence Emery

IT IS possible that Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, currently in competition with Joe McCarthy as a slayer of suspected subversives, sleeps fitfully these nights. He is being blackmailed.

Brownell maintains a little band of about 50 political informers and witnesses who perform for pay. Of these about 12 are in the professional class in the sense that they get a sizable income by giving answers prosecutors and probers want to hear. Most talkative and best-paid is Paul Crouch; in the last two years his receipts from the Justice Dept. total nearly $10,000.

TRAIL OF LIES: In a 1949 trial against Harry Bridges testimony by Crouch was proven false. Charges he made against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer were demolished. Evidence he gave against another scientist was thrown out of court and a jury acquitted the victim. Recently a man he named before a Congressional committee and in a series of articles in the Hearst newspapers was awarded $5,000 damages by a jury. In recent deportation proceedings against Chicago cartoonist Jacob Burck, defense attorneys turned up a batch of affidavits contradicting sworn assertions by Crouch. Still Brownell used him as his star performer.

The Alsop brothers, syndicated columnists, began to take an interest. When defense attorneys in the Philadelphia Smith Act trial discovered other flat contradictions in Crouch's testimony there, the Alsops wrote about it—and asked Brownell if he planned any action.

STEAMED PIGEON: On May 28, prodded by reporters, Brownell reluctantly admitted that Crouch was reluctantly being "investigated." He said he was sorry the fact was divulged, hastened to point out that "the fact that there is an investigation does not mean that a person is guilty." But Crouch was mad and Brownell was in trouble. On that same day Crouch announced he would file a million-dollar libel suit against the Alsops in 30 days. The 30 days ended with no suit, but on June 21 Crouch had this to say for Brownell's benefit:

"If my reputation could be destroyed and my credibility demolished through the current frame-up plot, 31 Communist leaders convicted or on trial in Smith Act proceedings could get new trials, 20 immigration proceedings would be re-opened, the registration order against the Communist Party would be reversed and sent back, with the cost to the government of many millions of dollars."

By June 30 Crouch was steaming; he complained:

"I have for all practical purposes been denied work and removed from the payroll, although no one will officially say so."

THE BITTEN HAND: On that day Crouch called on J. Edgar Hoover to investigate the loyalty of certain office aides to Brownell, hinting that some "shocking facts" might be uncovered. Apparently Brownell didn't make the necessary conciliatory moves, because on July 8 Crouch formally petitioned McCarthy's Senate Committee on Government Operations and the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Wililam Langer (R-N.D.), to investigate Brownell and his deputy, William P. Rogers. He charged that both "have given considerable aid and comfort to enemies of the U.S.," and repeated his threat that a probe of him might force a reopening of some 60 hearings and trials. Langer's committee, after discussing Crouch's petition, referred it for action to William E. Jenner's (R-Ind.) Senate Internal Security subcommittee. The N.Y. Times reported:

"Congressional committee staff members in the anti-Communist field have been expressing dismay since Mr. Brownell announced he would investigate Mr. Crouch. . . . These committee aides were even more flabbergasted, however, with Mr. Crouch's action in turning against 'the hands that feed him.' They could not see how the Justice Dept. could continue using Mr. Crouch if he brought the Atty. General himself under attack."

DANGEROUS DIRT: Meanwhile two other top performers for Brownell, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, have been caught up. They appeared as witnesses in the recent loyalty hearing of Dr. Ralph Bunche, Nobel Prize winner and Director of the UN Trusteeship Divn. An unnamed surprise witness for Bunche totally demolished the charges brought by the informers, and the whole case was indignantly thrown out by the hearing board. According to the Alsops, the transcript in that case has also been referred to the Justice Dept.

What should disturb the country is that the investigation of perjury by paid informers is being left to the Dept. that hired and paid them. Yet the San Francisco Chronicle (7/10) was hopeful:

"We trust that the Justice Dept. will not be deterred from its purposes; an investigation of this particular informer [Crouch] is long overdue. In fact, an investigation of the whole tribe of professional informers is long overdue, and we hope the Dept. will broaden its inquiry to embrace all of them. . . . Informing is a dirty business and . . . some of the dirt is quite likely to rub off on the practitioners."

But where will Brownell be if Crouch, spurned and exposed, decides to tell all?

PAUL CROUCH

MANNING JOHNSON

". . . and none speaks false when there is none to hear."

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NEW YORK

AFL out-jingoes Ike; state parley ignores Brownell bills & Joe

By Elmer Bendiner

FOR three and a half days last week 1,300 men and women sat in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Commodore. They represented the greatest body of organized labor in the state, the 1,300,000 members of the AFL.

As the N.Y. AFL convened (after an invocation by Cardinal Spellman), millions in and out of the state waited to catch the sound of labor resistance to war, recession, the runaway shop, McCarthyism; politicians were gauging popular moods, parties were drawing up platform planks to catch labor's eye.

MORE WAR, LESS TRICKLE: The delegates rarely spoke but what the leaders said did not sound like resistance. It was plain that labor's moods would have to be measured away from the convention halls and out of range of the moss-back oratory.

AFL pres. George Meany keynoted foreign-policy thinking by criticizing President Eisenhower for backsliding on "massive retaliation," urged him to reject any idea of "co-existence" with the Soviet Union, or "massive appeasement."

Meany opposed the Administration's "trickle-down theory, that if you keep big business big, fat and healthy they'll provide enough jobs to keep the economy sound. We feel it is the other way around."

NON-PARTISAN BALLOTS: But the convention offered no plan of labor's organizing politically. Meany reached back half a century for his 1954 maxim. He told the AFL Brotherhood of Bookbinders that the only thing wrong with the reward-our-enemies-and-punish-our-friends theory of political action was that "we do not carry it out."

Many speakers said that labor's answer lay in the ballot box and in lobbying at Washington and Albany; but none offered a hint as to what to do with the ballot, and N.Y. AFL pres. Thomas A. Murray (unanimously re-elected) extolled "non-partisanship."

THUNDER AHEAD: The strongest warning of anti-labor action in Albany came from a Republican, Harold Hanover, the federation's secy.-treas.-legislative chairman:

"The well-organized and highly lubricated drive in the state capitals to undermine basic trade union structure through so-called 'right-to-work' laws has, if anything, gained momentum. The continuing campaign by organized employer groups to water down and repeal basic protective labor legislation has already achieved some signal victories in Albany."

He warned of waves of injunctions that might cripple or destroy the right to strike, but offered no strategy to combat it.

PREGNANT SILENCES: What was ignored by convention orators was perhaps most significant. There was no mention of the N.Y. waterfront, either to reappraise the defeated AFL raid on the ILA or to analyze the regimentation scheme that menaces all labor. Neither the Brownell bills nor McCarthyism rated attention. Anti-labor legislation was bewailed and further assaults predicted; but speaker after speaker, plugging "non-partisanship" which at times seemed close to "bi-partisanship," talked as if the attacks came out of the blue.

Bernard Nossiter in **The Nation** (7/24) predicted the consequences of labor's "failure to recognize that McCarthy is the instrument of a drive to destroy unions." He pointed to occasional anti-McCarthy pronouncements by labor leaders (even these were lacking at the Commodore last week) but warned that it may be fatal to gloss over McCarthyism's bread-and-butter aspects, to denounce McCarthy's Hitlerism without recalling that Hitler began by destroying unions. Nossiter closed:

"If the trade unions wait until McCarthy moves openly against them, they will probably wait too long. . . . If he succeeds in imposing his vision on this country, the unions will find themselves beaten before they begin to fight."

THE SNUGGLE: The runaway shop, menacing workers throughout the northeast, never made the AFL agenda either—although to two AFL unions, the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers and Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers, the runaway trend poses the question of survival. These unions once fought it on picket lines (as in the hat strike at Norwalk, Conn.) or in Southern organizing drives. More recently officials have taken their unions into business, building plants for employers, investing dues money in companies, steadily inching over from one side of the bargaining table to the other.

When the Kartiganer Hat Corp. (with factories at Beacon, N.Y., and West Upton and Milford, Mass.) felt the pinch, the AFL Hatters entered a new kind of negotiation, offering the company a $50,000 loan out of the union treasury and individual loans of $200 from each of the 1,000 workers in the plant. In accepting the $250,000 loan Mr. Kartiganer said: "This is a very happy example of labor-management cooperation to keep a company in business and protect the jobs of people who have hat-making in their blood."

The agreement specified there would be no wage-cuts and that a union accountant could have access to the books to guard the union's investment.

THE TOGS TACTIC: The ILGWU follows a more complicated tactic combining traditional union methods with those of a sharp business investor. When the G. H. & E. Freydberg Co. left Manhattan for the lower wage-scales of Appomattox, Va., the ILGWU tried organizing Virginia workers, called a strike. The union paid the 250 Virginia strikers $20 a week in benefits but, as the strike dragged out, turned to other methods. It lent $20,000 to a competing union shop nearby so that 100 of the strikers could be hired there, then started work on a $40,000 factory at Appomattox which it leased to a New York company, Youth Time Togs, Inc., on condition it offer 12½c more in wages than the Freydberg Co.

For Youth Time Togs it was a good deal. The rental is nominal and applies to the purchase price if the company, after five years, wants to buy the plant at its original cost. The union gets no interest but since all the strikers will be employed it will have to pay no strike benefits and the runaway Freydberg will be suitably punished.

"A UNION'S BUSINESS": The solution seemed slick, but no one in the AFL convention traced the consequence of trade unions entering into big business, becoming an employer while representing the employes.

The emergence of brother bosses brought only this cautious reference from Meany: "The business of a union is not acquisition of great wealth, not piling up of great treasuries, but building for a better life for their members." This was, after all, a labor convention.

See you August 27-29 at GUARDIAN's Week-end at White Lake Lodge.

18 YEARS LATER

500 at rally pledge aid to Lincoln vets

ON JULY 22, the 18th anniversary of the defense of Madrid against the Axis-armed forces of Gen. Franco, 500 New Yorkers gathered in the Hotel Capitol to pledge support to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in their fight against the McCarran Act. The government had just completed its three-month case against VALB, which it is trying to brand as a "Communist-front" organization. Speakers—I. F. Stone, Dr. Edward K. Barsky and lawyer Homer C. Clay—stressed the ominous relation between Washington's tightening alliance with Franco and Atty. Gen. Brownell's activities, and the key importance of VALB's fight.

Clay, a Kentucky lawyer never heretofore associated with so-called "left" cases, volunteered to handle VALB's case because he "believed in Spain." Testimony by 13 government witnesses (including Louis Budenz and six deserters from the Spanish War) had, he said, confirmed his high opinion of the Americans who volunteered to fight fascism in Spain and are still fighting it here at home. VALB's Natl. Commander Milton Wolff said he and other officers would rather go to jail than declare themselves "subversive."

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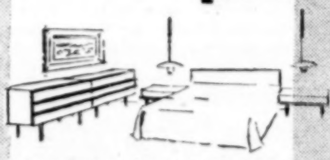

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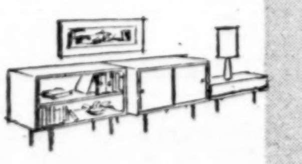

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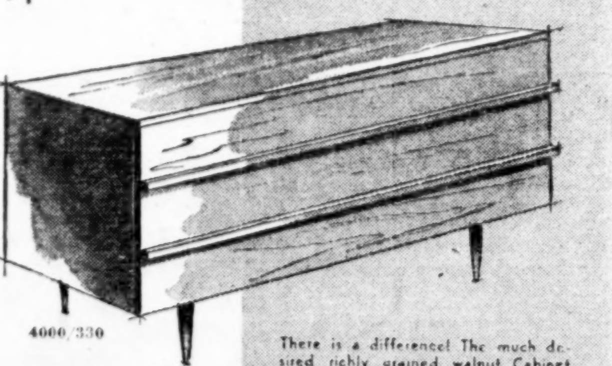

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ ANOTHER DYNAMIC EVENT! ★
Wednesday, Aug. 11—8:30 p.m.
(note change of evening)
●
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
invites you to hear
The BRILLIANT PSYCHIATRIST
★ DR. JOSEPH B. FURST ★
Author-lecturer; Member,
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●
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●
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●
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ANOTHER COOL VILLAGE GARDEN PARTY. Solid liquids, guitars, candies, caricatures! 137 Waverly Place, Sat., July 31, 9 p.m. Ausp. Village LaGuardia Club, ALP.

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Newsstand blackmail

NEW YORK, N. Y.

GUARDIAN readers are familiar with the attempts of Katherine St. George to prohibit the mailing rights of progressive publications. The witch-hunt in N. Y. C. has taken one step further. About three months ago, the Hearst press decided on its own initiative to ban these publications from certain newsdealers, especially stands with displays or weak-kneed dealers. The financial blackjack descended on their heads with an ultimatum: Don't carry those . . . if you want to sell ours! Asked whether he knew how many stands were affected, one dealer told me: "About six or seven that I know of."

I. F.

60 PERSONS CAME — 60 GOT HELP

Marc's 'service night' in Yorkville

By Ione Kramer

AT 8 P.M. Monday evening 60 persons were patiently waiting on folding chairs in the second floor office of the Vito Marcantonio Political Assn. at 1484 First Av. It was a typical Yorkville "service night," said Fabre Cuesta, Marc's efficient secretary. "People come in like this every Monday and Wednesday, whether Marc's in Congress or out," he said.

Many of the Yorkville folks, seeking help on a thousand and one problems, talked with the volunteer lawyer who offers free advice or court representation on problems of housing; with the workmen's compensation specialist, or with "Fab," who follows through with the letters, forms and contacts that produce results.

WAITING FOR MARC: Many would talk only to Marc; they waited their turn patiently through the hot night in the long room decorated with a huge American flag, the Good Neighbor Party charter, pictures of George Washington and FDR, and a few of Marc himself from other campaigns.

In a corner a ruddy-faced man pored intently over voters' enrollment books in preparation for future canvassing to return Marc to Congress from the 18th CD. Election district captains are now visiting the people on their block, preparing to circulate nominating petitions in August.

Marc was a little late. He had been presiding at a meeting of "my boys"—a baseball team of 12-year-olds on 111th St., whom he had recently fitted with uniforms and gear. "Real tough kids," he said, "cocky as all get-out, but fine stuff, real independence and spirit." That evening they had voted that the uniforms would belong to the group — kids could take them to camp, but they would make sure none of them got torn.

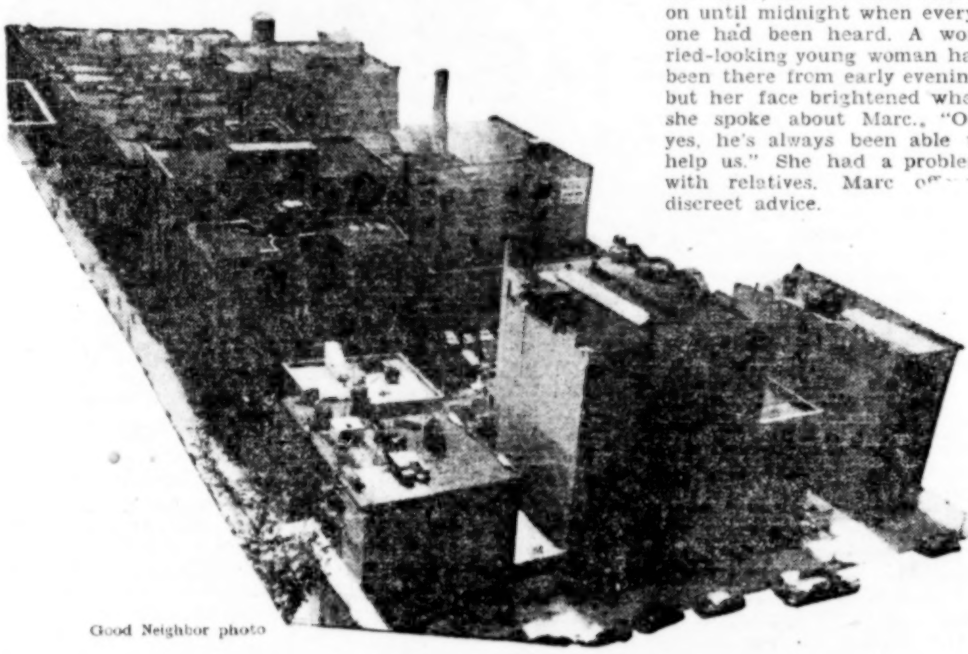
WORRIED TENANTS: Seated in the outer office under a photograph of the late Fiorello H. LaGuardia at work, Marc talked with Irish, Puerto Rican, German, Italian, Czech, Negro and Jewish neighbors. The sprightly volunteer receptionist ushered in a delegation of 14 tenants, elderly folks of German extraction, laborers in their work clothes, fighting eviction from their York Av. house. It will be torn down to make room for a luxury building, displacing 45 families. Nearly 2,000 people in the 18th CD face loss of their homes in the move by realtors to make the East Side a luxury area. Eviction was stalled until Aug. 14 and the Assn. lawyer will fight it in court.

Another tenant group had originally applied for repairs and wound up with an eviction notice instead. They had taken their case to the Farley Democratic club on 63d St., where coalition Congressman Donovan is supposed to operate. They saw neither Donocan nor, apparently, results. Said Marc: "I'll represent them in court."

THE PROBLEMS: At 10:30 there were still 35 people waiting. A young couple, with one small boy sleeping in his father's arms and another tagging drowsily behind, wanted help in getting the mother's naturalization papers. A father and daughter needed help getting the daughter's husband, an Italian, into U. S. from Canada. Marc's assistants would write the proper authorities. The young wife of a disabled veteran whom Marc had helped several years ago wanted to get into a housing project, since the elevator in their four-story apartment didn't run. An Italian barber was fighting a rent increase on his shop. A Negro mother living in a project site asked help in relocation.

A woman who had visited Marc before introduced her husband for the first time. He was skeptical and his smile came stiffly as Marc greeted him. But there was a look of triumph on the woman's face as she and her husband left with "Fab" to fill out pension papers.

ONE ANSWER — WORK: By 11:15 the receptionist had lost her voice, but the crew worked on until midnight when everyone had been heard. A worried-looking young woman had been there from early evening, but her face brightened when she spoke about Marc., "Oh, yes, he's always been able to help us." She had a problem with relatives. Marc offered discreet advice.



Good Neighbor photo

THIS FULL SQUARE BLOCK IS SLATED FOR DEMOLITION

It's to be the site of a new high school in Yorkville (E. 64th and E. 65th betw. 1st and 2d Av.) despite protests of 390 families and business concerns there. The Board of Education withdrew the site and selected a better one a block south and $1,000,000 cheaper, but the City Planning Commission is looking the other way. Tenants plan to storm the Board of Estimate this month when the final decision is to be made.

Not all the problems that people brought to his office could be solved by letters or forms there, Marc said, but the people appreciated an honest effort. Hard work was his only answer for a successful service program. Service has been a tradition since LaGuardia was a Congressman in the early '30's and Marc worked in the latter's office. Said Marc:

"It has always been my contention that people's problems are the problems of their duly elected representatives. A representative's job is not only legislation but dealing with the problems of the people of his district. This phase of the Congressional job is completely ignored and neglected by Donovan."

See you August 27-29 at GUARDIAN's Week-end at White Lake Lodge.

Much love to all

BRONX, N. Y.

I want you to know that I and my family love your paper and everybody connected with it. You are all the finest people and I know the truth will triumph.

Judith Wolfson

TENANT OATH

Court orders a retrial in Gwinn test case

THE move to hound dissidents out of their homes took shape in 1952 when Congress tacked a seemingly irrelevant amendment to an appropriations act. Proposed by Rep. Gwinn (R-N.Y.), the provision rules that "no housing unit constructed under the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 . . . shall be occupied by a person who is a member of an organization designated as subversive by the Atty. General."

The N.Y. City Housing Authority late in 1952 implemented the Gwinn Amendment by handing out statements to each federal project tenant indicating he was not a member of any one of 194 organizations listed on an attached sheet. Failure to sign, said the Authority, would be grounds for eviction.

MILE-HIGH RIDE: Mrs. Rebekah Peters of Brooklyn's Williamsburgh Houses took the case to court, intending to test the amendment's constitutionality. As Lawyer Paul Ross pressed the case tenants of other projects joined the Peters petition.

On July 14 the case reached the state's highest court, the Court of Appeals, which ordered it started all over again in the lower courts. The American Civil Liberties Union and the American Jewish Congress filed "friend - of - the-court" briefs supporting Ross' constitutional points.

SPLIT HAIRS: The Appeals Court sidestepped the constitutional issue. In sending the case down the legal ladder again, it made two objections: 1) the Gwinn Amendment expressly refers to housing constructed under the 1937 Housing Act and there is some doubt that the Williamsburgh Houses were built under that Act; 2) the amendment would bar from projects members of organizations listed as "subversive" by the Atty. Gen. but he had classified only 13 organizations as "subversive." Others on the list were labeled "totalitarian," "fascist," "communist," those advocating "overthrow by force and violence" or seeking to "alter the form of the government of the U. S. by unconstitutional means." Gwinn didn't mention those.

The case will be re-argued before the Special Term court in Brooklyn in October. The constitutional show-down is yet to come.

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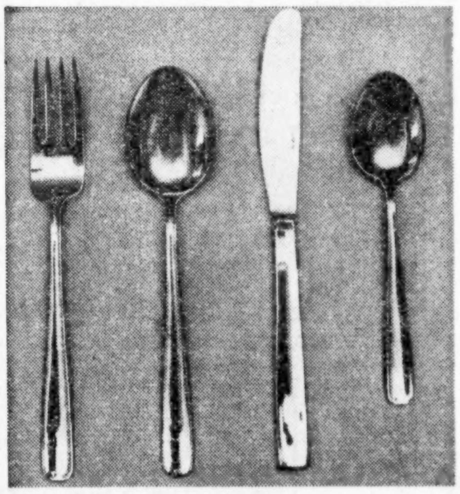

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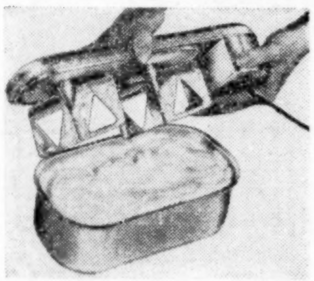

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the SPECTATOR

'Where the Fraser River Flows'

AT BLAINE, WASH., on the Canadian border, stands a Peace Arch symbolizing lasting peace between the two countries and their peoples' freedom to cross one another's borders without benefit of passport. On Sunday Aug. 1, an American colussus for peace, to whom freedom of travel is denied by his country, was to sing his mighty songs there to some 50,000 people of the two nations. The working people of the Pacific northwest would gather to hear Paul Robeson—as in previous years—through the efforts of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

Mine, Mill is one of the unions of the West which treasures the memory of the labor martyr and songsmith, Joe Hill; and through the Northwest country flows the Fraser River, subject of one of Joe Hill's most noted labor songs. It was written to the tune of "River Shannon," for the striking construction workers on the Northern Pacific grade forty years ago.

So for the Peace Arch gathering this year, Robeson included in his repertory "Where the Fraser River Flows"; and then a reading—from Barrie Stavis's Joe Hill play The Man Who Never Died**—of the speech of Joe Hill's attorney to the Utah Board of Pardons, seeking to save him from a Utah firing squad on a murder frame-up. This is the speech:*

FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, the washerwomen of London gathered on the banks of the Thames River to scrub the dirty linen of London. But one particular day in May, in the year 1732, they did more than scrub. They talked. "We are fighting for a wage so that we can live and feed bread to our children." The words flew up and down the banks of the Thames. "For God's sake, come with us and help. Join." The words sailed further along the banks. "Do not wash London's dirty linen until you get a wage to keep you alive and in bread." The washerwomen were arrested and charged with criminal conspiracy. Many were fined; many were imprisoned. The men of London who owned the dirty linen thought that the conspiracy was smashed; that there could be no further dirty linen problem in the city. To their dismay a new conspiracy of the tubwomen of the Thames was formed the very next day and the year after that. . . .

JOE HILL

They called it conspiracy. But we know it was one of many episodes in the great battle for human liberty, a battle which commenced when, through tyranny and oppression, some men first enslaved their fellow men, and which will not end so long as the children of one father shall be compelled to toil to support the children of another in luxury and ease. . . .

I SPEAK FOR JOE HILL. Wherever men have looked upward, worked for the poor and the weak, they have been sacrificed. They have been sacrificed in the prison, on the scaffold, in the flame. They have met their death, and he can meet his. But do you thing you can crush the feelings and the aspirations of the laboring class by firing bullets into his heart? Ask yourself: Are you seeking to destroy him, not because he is guilty, but because he represents a class? If you say the word, he is mortal, he will die. But don't be so blind, so foolish as to believe that if you make a fresh new grave, you will kill the labor movement. A million men will take up the banner of labor at the open grave where Joe Hill lays it down. . . .

Let us see who will applaud you if you let him be killed and who, on the other hand, will sing your praise if you save him. If you let him be killed, then in the private offices of the great factories you act will be applauded; and in the managing offices of our railroads your act will be applauded; and in the banks of great cities your act will be applauded—from all these you will receive blessings and unstinted applause. . . .

But if you free him, there are others who will sing your praise. Out on the broad prairie, where men toil with their hands; out on the broad ocean where men are sailing the ships; in the mines, deep down under the earth; in our mills and factories; thousands of men, of women, of children—men who labor, men who suffer, women and children weary with care—these men and these women and these children will stretch out their hands to you in thanks for your guided judgment. . . .

THERE IS NO WAY to return to Joe Hill the 22 months he has spent in your prison. His stay in prison is the special premium he gets for his services to his fellow men. For if a man be so foolish that he goes out and works for the poor and the oppressed and the despised, for the men who own not the tools, the newspapers, the courts, the machinery and organization of society, then these are the wages he receives today and which he received since that time the first foolish man commenced to agitate for the uplifting and upbuilding of society. . . .

I speak for Joe Hill. I speak for the poor, for the weak, for the weary, for that long line of men who, in darkness and despair, have borne the labors of the human race. Their eyes are upon you five men today. . . .

*THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED, by Barrie Stavis. Haven Press, 545 5th Av., N. Y. C. 17. $3.